

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 11100 01 OF 03 191500Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
-----094200 191514Z /53
P 191436Z JUL 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2266
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 11100

EXDIS

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR EARLE, JULY 19, 1978
(SALT TWO-1812)

- STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR EARLE
- JULY 19, 1978

MR. MINISTER:

- I

TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS THE JOINT STATEMENT OF
PRINCIPLES AND BASIC GUIDELINES WHICH WILL GOVERN OUR
FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. PURSUANT TO THE PREVIOUS UNDER-
STANDING BETWEEN THE SIDES TO ADOPT GENERALIZED LANGUAGE
FOR THE JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, THE UNITED STATES
WILL SET FORTH REVISED PROPOSALS TODAY WHICH REFLECT THAT
AGREEMENT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 11100 01 OF 03 191500Z

- II

THE TITLE AND PREAMBLE TO THE JOINT STATEMENT WOULD
READ:

- JOINT STATEMENT
- OF PRINCIPLES AND BASIC GUIDELINES

- FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON
- THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS

- THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS THE PARTIES,
- HAVING CONCLUDED THE TREATY ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS,

- REAFFIRMING THAT THE STRENGTHENING OF STRATEGIC STABILITY MEETS THE INTERESTS OF THE PARTIES AND THE INTERESTS OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY,

- CONVINCED THAT EARLY AGREEMENT ON THE FURTHER LIMITATION AND FURTHER REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC ARMS WOULD SERVE TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND TO REDUCE THE RISK OF OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR,

- HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

YOU WILL NOTE THAT THE WORD "OFFENSIVE" HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM THE TITLE AND PREAMBLE AND SUBSEQUENTLY IN OTHER SECTIONS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT WHERE APPROPRIATE. THIS IS BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD CONSIDER BOTH OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 11100 01 OF 03 191500Z

STRATEGIC ARMS.

IN ADDITION, THE UNITED STATES IS PROPOSING A FOOTNOTE WITH REGARD TO THE FINAL FORM OF THE DOCUMENT. THIS FOOTNOTE READS:

- IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE TERM "TREATY" IS USED IN THIS JOINT DRAFT TEXT WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE FORM OF THE DOCUMENT, WHICH SHALL BE DECIDED BY THE GOVERNMENTS.

- III

IN THE FIRST SECTION OF THE JOINT STATEMENT THE SIDES HAVE INDICATED THEIR MUTUAL CONVICTION THAT THE STRENGTHENING OF STRATEGIC STABILITY SERVES THE INTERESTS OF BOTH OUR NATIONS. IN THIS REGARD, THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT STRATEGIC STABILITY CAN BEST BE STRENGTHENED BY MEASURES WHICH INCLUDE THE ENHANCEMENT OF THE SURVIVABILITY OF PERMITTED STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. HOWEVER, IN THE INTEREST OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING REVISED

LANGUAGE FOR THE FIRST SECTION OF THE JOINT STATEMENT:

- FIRST: THE PARTIES WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, ON MEASURES FOR THE FURTHER LIMITATION AND REDUCTION IN THE NUMBERS OF STRATEGIC ARMS, AS WELL AS FOR THEIR FURTHER QUALITATIVE LIMITATION.

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 11100 02 OF 03 191506Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
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P 191436Z JUL 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 GENEVA 11100

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- IN FURTHERANCE OF EXISTING AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE PARTIES ON THE LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC ARMS, THE PARTIES WILL CONTINUE, FOR THE PURPOSES OF REDUCING AND AVERTING THE RISK OF OUT-BREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR, TO SEEK MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN STRATEGIC STABILITY BY, INTER ALIA, LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS MOST DESTABILIZING TO THE STRATEGIC BALANCE AND BY MEASURES TO INCREASE CONFIDENCE IN THE MUTUAL SECURITY OF PERMITTED STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

- IV

WITH RESPECT TO THE SECOND SECTION OF THE JOINT STATEMENT, WHICH ADDRESSES THE SUBJECT OF VERIFICATION, THE SIDES ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS MUST BE SUBJECT TO

ADEQUATE VERIFICATION, AND THAT VERIFICATION SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE STRENGTHENED IN THE COURSE OF FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE UNITED STATES
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 11100 02 OF 03 191506Z

BELIEVES THAT NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS WILL CONTINUE TO BE AN ESSENTIAL COMPONENT OF VERIFICATION OF FUTURE AGREEMENTS LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS. THE UNITED STATES ALSO RECOGNIZES THAT THE NATURE OF FUTURE LIMITATIONS WILL BE MORE COMPLEX AND THEREFORE WILL PRESENT MORE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS OF VERIFICATION. IN ORDER TO ENSURE ADEQUATE VERIFICATION IN THE FUTURE, PROVISION SHOULD BE MADE TO SUPPLEMENT NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, AS APPROPRIATE, BY AGREED COOPERATIVE MEASURES.

ACCORDINGLY, FOR THE SECOND SECTION OF THE JOINT STATEMENT, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING REVISED LANGUAGE:

- SECOND. FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS MUST BE SUBJECT TO ADEQUATE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS SUPPLEMENTED, AS APPROPRIATE, BY AGREED COOPERATIVE MEASURES. THE PARTIES WILL SEEK TO STRENGTHEN VERIFICATION AND TO PERFECT THE OPERATION OF THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION IN ORDER TO PROMOTE ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED BY THE PARTIES.
- V

THE THIRD SECTION OF THE JOINT STATEMENT IS TO CONTAIN CERTAIN SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THESE OBJECTIVES WILL ENHANCE STRATEGIC STABILITY. THEIR ACHIEVEMENT WILL ALSO SERVE AS A DEMONSTRATION OF THE SIDES' RESOLVE TO CARRY OUT MEANINGFUL ARMS CONTROL MEASURES. THE FOLLOWING REVISED LANGUAGE FOR THE THIRD SECTION OF THE JOINT STATEMENT SETS FORTH SUCH OBJECTIVES FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS:

SECRET

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 11100 02 OF 03 191506Z

- THIRD. THE PARTIES SHALL PURSUE IN THE COURSE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES:
- 1. SIGNIFICANT AND SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS IN

- THE NUMBERS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS;
- 2. RESTRICTIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT, TESTING,
- AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC
- OFFENSIVE ARMS AND ON THE MODERNIZATION OF
- EXISTING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS;
- 3. FURTHER RESTRICTIONS ON STRATEGIC DEFENSES;
- 4. RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUES INCLUDED IN THE
- PROTOCOL TO THE TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED
- STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNION OF SOVIET
- SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON THE LIMITATION OF
- STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS IN THE CONTEXT OF
- THE NEGOTIATIONS RELATING TO THE AFOREMEN-
- TIONED PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES.
- VI

WITH RESPECT TO THE FOURTH SECTION OF THE JOINT STATEMENT, THE UNITED STATES AGREES IN PRINCIPLE WITH THE SOVIET SUGGESTION CONCERNING THE FREEDOM TO RAISE ANY QUESTION CONCERNING THE LIMITATIONS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN STRATEGIC STABILITY IN THE FUTURE, THE SIDES MUST BE PREPARED TO DEAL WITH DEFENSIVE AS WELL AS OFFENSIVE STRATEGIC ARMS.

ACCORDINGLY, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING REVISED LANGUAGE FOR THE FOURTH SECTION OF THE

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 11100 03 OF 03 191507Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
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P 191436Z JUL 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
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S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 GENEVA 11100

JOINT STATEMENT:

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- FOURTH. THE PARTIES WILL CONSIDER OTHER STEPS
TO ENSURE AND ENHANCE STRATEGIC STABILITY, TO ENSURE
THE EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY OF THE PARTIES, AND
TO IMPLEMENT THE ABOVE PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES.
EACH PARTY WILL BE FREE TO RAISE ANY ISSUE RELATIVE
TO THE FURTHER LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS. THE
PARTIES WILL ALSO CONSIDER FURTHER JOINT MEASURES,
AS APPROPRIATE, TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL PEACE
AND SECURITY AND TO REDUCE THE RISK OF OUTBREAK OF
NUCLEAR WAR.

- VII

MR. MINISTER, THE PROPOSALS THE UNITED STATES HAS
PRESENTED TODAY ADDRESS THE CONCERNS OF BOTH SIDES AND
PROVIDE A SATISFACTORY BASIS FOR RESOLUTION OF THIS
ISSUE. EARLE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AMBASSADORS, SPEECHES, SALT (ARMS CONTROL)
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978GENEVA11100
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780296-0574
Format: TEL
From: GENEVA USSALTTWO
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780744/aaaabksx.tel
Line Count: 299
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
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Message ID: 44d0b370-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1959860
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR EARLE, JULY 19, 1978 (SALT TWO-1812) - STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR EARLE
TAGS: PARM, (EARLE, RALPH II)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/44d0b370-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014